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NEW EMPHASIS PLACED ON COMPETITION IN MILITARY TRAINING

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 32, 1983 (signed to press 1 Aug 83) p 3

[Article by Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, member SED Central Committee, deputy minister for national defense and chief, ground forces of the GDR National People's Army: "Socialist Competition--Driving Force for New Successes in the Struggle for a High Level of Combat Readiness"]

[Text] Greater challenges to the defense of socialism determine the standards for objectives, content and methods of socialist competition within the armed forces. Proceeding from this basic tenet of the directives issued by the minister for national defense about the conduct of socialist competition, the commanders, political units and party organizations of the ground forces concentrated their attention upon utilizing socialist competition as an important leadership tool for bringing about a tangible improvement in performance in political and combat training. In this endeavor, they had effective support from the mass organizations. This was reflected in the many excellent and satisfactory results achieved by commands and units in such exercises as the joint command staff exercise of the SOYUZ-83 joint armies and navies of the Warsaw Pact members; in command staff and troop exercises of task forces and commands, and in the final evaluations at the end of the first training semester of 1982/83.



The most important experience gained in the strict implementation of the minister for national defense's competition directive consists of the fact that superiors are increasingly recognizing the conduct of socialist competition as being essential for ideological indoctrination and as being inextricably tied to the struggle for high achievement in political and combat training. Socialist competition is unequivocally aimed at achieving great military competence, stable training results and growing economic benefit. Its potentials are methodically used in the training of army members.

Inextricably Tied To Fulfilling the Training Mission

The great efforts made in the political and ideological sector and in a goal-directed organization of competition under the new requirements led in all parts of the ground forces to extensive discussions about tasks and objectives of competition, to a variety of activities in staffs and troop units in the day-to-day conduct of competition and to a significant upswing in group initiatives among army members. Individual tasks and competition programs mostly reflect the new, higher standards. Inasmuch as competition is inextricably and directly linked with fulfilling the training objectives, it is a daily feature of army life in the great majority of companies, platoons and squads.

The following serve as criteria for competition among tangible results of training: grades, firing scores, and norms. This is being furthered through the use of graphic and interesting evaluation tables, such as the ones in use in the "Ernst Moritz Arndt" command. Privates, noncoms and officers demonstrate an increased personal identification with the competitive tasks and fulfill their obligations with enthusiasm.

Many ideas and suggestions from the soldiers and their young superiors and also from the FDJ organizations contributed to a still greater vividness and realism in conducting the competition. In this connection, I am thinking of such examples as the various short and long-term tasks in the Moeckel Group in the preparation of the SOYUZ-83 joint command staff exercise; of sponsorships during the first semester of active duty; of competitions in meeting standards; also, of other young people's initiatives such as "The enemy in the gunsight" or "Conduct, camouflage and security in combat."

Goal-Oriented Leadership Resulted in Excellent Performance

The goal-oriented leadership of the socialist competition contributed significantly to the attainment of excellent performance by the army members of the "Leo Jogiches," "Albert Hoessler," "Alfred Frank," "Max Roscher" commands and many other commands and units during SOYUZ-83, despite the limited preparation time available at the beginning of the second training semester. Among the experiences worth sharing is the goal-directed indoctrination of all leaders by the command and political elements of the commands and task forces. In the Zabelt task force for instance, an instruction period of the company commanders was devoted to a comprehensive discussion of the ministerial directives and to the exchange of experiences in conducting the competition. In that same task force, an FDJ unit conducted a discussion on the conduct of competitions in combat training. The young instructors received a variety of lectures during their preparation for active duty and continued military training, in classroom lectures and practical demonstrations, on how combat training can be conducted and evaluated on a competitive basis. It was also found to be most useful in the ground forces to take energetic steps toward overcoming still existing tendencies toward excessive paperwork, the creation of redundant documentation, over-centralization of performance evaluation or the development of

subsidiary evaluation criteria or point systems. The conduct of competitions must remain within the squads, platoons and companies as a matter of principle. That is why those commands and units which organize and conduct performance evaluation are on the right track especially when dealing with planned and comparable training activities, without additional expenditure of time and material resources.

Greater Demands on Every Comrade Became Manifest

The competition during the first training semester of 1982/83 also demonstrated the greater demands on individual army members and teams which became manifest in the struggle for excellence.

Not everyone was successful in fully mastering his tasks at the first try; many will have to try again in the new semester with greater efforts. Their superiors should explain to the army members the reasons for their failure to attain their competitive objectives and should assist them in their renewed struggle for success. Still better understanding is required in organizing team efforts to obtain the "winner's" title. The leaders and every army member should during the entire semester be continuously aware of their areas of responsibility and should take timely steps to satisfy those requirements in accordance with the applicable directives.

The new provision of the competition directive, according to which superiors up to company commanders can now personally compete for "winner" titles has in the ground forces resulted in new impetus for socialist competition. Leaders are now even more strongly motivated toward successful performance by their teams than before. Many among them managed to obtain the "winner" title already at the end of the first training semester. Especially noteworthy results were obtained in the Unterdoerfel task force. Nevertheless, even more attention must be paid in the future to create conditions in the commands and units in which even young officers can fulfill the requirements for "winner's" titles. During the first training semester there were still a number of officers whose units fulfilled "winners'" requirements, while they themselves failed to attain the requisite results. In future, they must improve especially their personal training performance scores in firing their personal weapons and in physical fitness. Successful conduct of socialist competition without the influence of party and FDJ organizations upon the development of mass initiatives is unthinkable. This became dramatically manifest once again during the first training semester of 1982/83. In the struggle for top performance in training the communists set a strong example. It became obvious also that their influence is on the increase qualitatively as well. The FDJ organizations were particularly successful in mobilizing the young soldiers for important and realistic tasks, to increase their familiarity with the prerequisites for obtaining the "winner" title and the soldier's medal and to elevate the young leaders' sense of responsibility for a goal-directed conduct of socialist competition. They made particular efforts toward an active implementation of creative competitiveness in the day-to-day military service.

Now the objective is to make a thorough evaluation of experience obtained in the conduct of socialist competition in accordance with the competition directive of the minister for national defense and quickly to standardize the results achieved by the most successful commands and units. In conjunction with the interpretation of the Sixth Congress of the SED Central Committee and with the preparation of party elections in the party groups and basic organizations, it is incumbent upon us to further develop the common initiative of all army members for a still greater increase in combat capability and preparedness.

9273

CSO: 2300/99

UNDOCUMENTED PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY ON DISARMAMENT TALKS REPORTED

Budapest JEL KEP in Hungarian Aug 83 pp 140-143

[Article by Imre Dobossy and Guy Lázár: "Will They Agree? Will They Not Agree?--Opinions on the Arms Limitation Talks and on the Danger of War"]

[Text] The majority of the adult Hungarian population was convinced in May 1983 that the Americans want to be militarily superior to the Soviets and thus the talks on reducing the number of missiles will not be successfully completed by the year's end. But they were not really aware of the significance of this.

The majority--93 percent--of the population surveyed was already aware that the Americans want to build missile sites in West Europe. People attributed this plan mainly to the aggressive efforts of the United States and the fact that the Americans are striving for military superiority and world power; they want to intimidate the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and want to force them to an arms buildup; or that they want to start a war (56 percent). Much less frequent was the neutral answer given that the Americans want to get closer to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries (17 percent); it was even less frequently mentioned that they want to counterbalance the Soviet missiles (7 percent).

The same high proportion of people--91 percent--knew that the Soviets and Americans were talking about limiting the number of missiles. Fifty-one percent knew that these talks are taking place in Geneva.

They Want to Attain Military Superiority

Almost three-fourths of those who knew about the talks gave definite (although not always right or precise) answers to the question as to what the Soviet Union proposed in these talks; three-fifths of them gave answers relative to American proposals. In talking about the Soviet proposals, they mentioned mostly efforts indicating the Soviet Union's wish to establish mutual security (41 percent); in this context, the mutual reduction in the number of missiles was mentioned most frequently (15 percent). Relative to the American proposals, the "zero solution" was mentioned most frequently (33 percent) and, next, the American demands raised against the Soviet Union (15 percent).

It was (also) mentioned by 16 percent of those who answered that the Americans expect unilateral concessions from the Soviets; 9 percent of them mentioned that the Americans refuse Soviet proposals.

Thus the data indicate that at the talks people had a lower opinion of the Americans' behavior than of the Soviets. These tendencies became even more apparent when those questioned made statements about the two superpowers' intentions and behavioral motives.

People agreed most with statements that shed an unfavorable light on the United States, and disagreed most with those that shed a favorable light. Four-fifths of them accepted the statement that the reason for the American arms buildup is good business, and the reason for their effort of bringing missiles to West Europe is to achieve military superiority; three-fourths of them identified with the view that by bringing the missiles, the Americans want to force the Soviet Union to spend even more money on the military. Somewhat less frequent were people's doubts concerning the sincerity of the United States: two-thirds of them agreed with the statement that the reason for the American proposals for disarmament is to deceive the world's public opinion. On the other hand, only one-fifth of them accepted the statement that the reason for the presence of American missiles in West Europe is to reestablish the power balance.

Opinions were more varied in the judgement of the Soviet Union's role. Seventy-one percent of people agreed with the statement that the reason for the Soviet Union's high military expenses is the haunting of the German aggression against her. At the same time, one-third of them also accepted the statements that the Soviets want to extend their influence to more and more countries and that the reason for high military expenses is that they are looking at the interests of the army.

Those questioned broke into two camps relative to the statement that the Soviets and Americans have not yet made an agreement because both are considering only their own interests: 47 percent rejected this statement, 40 percent accepted it. Only 31 percent identified with the view that the two parties failed to make an agreement to date because neither of them is considering what a new world war would entail.

Who Is Stronger?

In assessing the military strength of the two superpowers, two views emerged. Most frequently, people said that the two are equally strong (36 percent), resulting from the fact that the Americans are stronger in missiles (33 percent) whereas the Soviets are stronger in conventional weapons (46 percent). The second most frequent view was, on the other hand, that the Soviets are stronger; this view was also reflected in that the Americans' superiority in missiles was mentioned less frequently than the Soviet superiority in conventional weapons.

It was thought by 62 percent of the people that the western countries would exploit military superiority, whereas only 18 percent of them had the same thought regarding the socialist countries.

A majority--56 percent--thought that it is the Americans who should make larger concessions at the talks; 35 percent thought that the two parties should make equal concessions, and only 3 percent thought that the Soviets should make larger concessions.

But the majority of people did not believe that the talking partners will indeed make these concessions; this is apparent in the statement of 56 percent of them, namely, that the Soviets and the Americans will not reach an agreement this year, and only 26 percent of them expected the talks to close by the year's end with success.

True, most people surveyed were not aware of the urgency of concluding the talks; to the question, what will happen if the Soviets and the Americans will not make an agreement by the end of the year, only 17 percent said that in that case the American missiles will begin to arrive, and only 7 percent said that the Soviets will take countermeasures.

The others emphasized, on the one hand, that the talks will continue and that the two parties will sooner or later reach an agreement (40 percent) and, on the other hand, their answers revealed that they expect the situation to become worse (42 percent). The thing most frequently mentioned by these pessimists was that the arms race will continue together with an increase in international tension (25 percent); the second thing they mentioned was that the situation will deteriorate to an extreme point where a catastrophe may--or will--happen (17 percent).

Man Is Afraid of War Even If...

Most people--70 percent--said to be afraid of a third world war. This does not mean, however, that the majority of the population became victim of war psychosis, for when people explained why they were afraid of the break-out of World War III, most of them--92 percent--accounted the reasons why they did not wish another world explosion, and only 12 percent of them talked about why they think that there will be a world war. The most frequent thing the former mentioned was that in another world war the entire world, or most of it, would be destroyed (34 percent); the next frequent thing mentioned was that they know from their own experience what war is like (29 percent), and finally that they are afraid for the life of their family (20 percent).

Four-fifths of those not afraid of another world war (28 percent), explained why they do not think there will be a world war; one-fifth of them elaborated on why they are not afraid of war and death. The former frequently referred to their belief that there is a power balance between the superpowers and that in another world war they would be destroyed as well.

It was thought by 83 percent of those questioned that man is afraid of war even if he knows that there will not be one. Seventy-four percent of them subscribed to the statement that no war can break out in Europe because it would lead to a world war; 65 percent of them identified with the statement that there will not be another world war because it would entail the destruction of the entire world. At the same time, three-fourths of them agreed that a world war may be started by a stupid accident, and three-fifths of them said that until there are capitalist countries, one must reckon with the possibility of another world war.

These data indicate that an increased arms race and the increased threat against world peace affects only a minority of the population in its every-day life, resulting in fear and anguish. Mainly in this group there are people who turn away from the TV set when war and other violent scenes appear in the news (27 percent), or turn off the TV set when there is a war film (18 percent), and frequently dream of war (16 percent).

Most people thought that the mass media give an authentic picture of the arms race: three-fourths of them rejected the statement that the only reason the Hungarian mass media are talking so much about the armament of the western powers is to shed an unfavorable light on them; 71 percent said it is not true that the significance of the armament and the danger of war is being exaggerated; 70 percent agreed with the statement that the information media show realistically the role of western powers in the increasing arms race.

The majority of those questioned thought that good information should demonstrate the danger of war and violence: four-fifths of those questioned agreed with the statement that TV news must show war and violent scenes because they are part of reality, and two-thirds of them rejected the statement that such scenes should not be shown because they cause anxiety in people.

People made rather pessimistic statements about whether it is possible to do anything about averting the danger of war: only 54 percent said that the man of the street can do something for peace, and a smaller number of them--39 percent--said that Hungary can do something about stopping the arms race.

The people surveyed thought that the common man can do something for peace mainly by participating in various peace demonstrations and protesting actions (53 percent); in addition, it was rather frequently mentioned that the cause of peace may be helped by good work and commitment (14 percent). They said that Hungary can do something about stopping the arms race mainly by speaking up for peace in the various international forums and by supporting the proposals for disarmament (43 percent).

AMNESTY PROCEDURE, RESULTS DESCRIBED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Oct 83 p 4

[KAR [National Workers' Agency] interview with Jozef Zyto, deputy prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic, by Wieslaw Rogala: "There Is Still a Chance"]

[Text] [Question] Now that several months have passed, how do you evaluate the situation concerning the implementation of the law on amnesty?

[Answer] As is known, the motives for publishing the law on amnesty are, among others, the gradual normalization of social life and the strengthening of the socialist state as well as the increase in social discipline and the improved state in public safety and order. The goal of the amnesty is to create conditions enabling perpetrators of political or unintentional crimes to take an active part in the nation's life. This act, in its assumption, should thus serve the idea of national reconciliation.

So that the amnesty regulations could be implemented as quickly as possible, the prosecutor's office, as one of the organs putting the amnesty into practice, immediately undertook appropriate organizational, propagandistic, and essential action. As the first order of things the prosecutors reviewed all cases against people arrested on an interim basis with an eye to determining the possibility of applying to them the appropriate provisions of the law. As a result, as early as 4 days from the time the statute went into effect, dispositions on interim arrest were revoked for 150 persons, and up to 12 August of this year for 249 persons, that is, for all perpetrators to whom the benefit of the amnesty was applicable.

The prosecutors' next step was to research the records of cases against persons at large who were suspected of political and unintentional crimes; as a result, by the end of September of this year they had applied the regulations of the amnesty to, and had dropped preliminary proceedings against, 3,960 persons, and recommendations about dropping proceedings against an additional 1,463 persons were handed over to the courts.

It should be added that the prosecutor general's office--after completing the review of cases in which pardoning proceedings were under way--sent the case of 107 persons already under sentence to the courts with recommendations about remission of the punishment, its commutation, or conditional release ahead of time.

However, this does not mean that implementation of the amnesty has already been completed. Persons intending to take advantage of its benefit and disclose the commission of crimes defined in article 2 of this law still have time to apply to the organs of prosecution or Polish consular agencies before the 31 October 1983 deadline; by 23 October 1983, however, 469 persons altogether had reported to all the organs authorized to receive applications within the framework of the amnesty law. All these persons, often in hiding, have returned to their families and--according to the data at hand--have resumed their professional or scientific work without any kind of restrictions or difficulties.

[Question] Were there any sort of difficulties in putting the amnesty law into operation?

[Answer] There were none, if you do not count the considerable expenditure of work by the organs putting the amnesty into practice, especially in the first days of its becoming operative. However, this is a typical phenomenon, which accompanies any act of amnesty.

[Question] In a week will you still be patiently waiting for those who decide to take advantage of the chance to return to a normal life?

[Answer] In essence, your question includes its answer. I say "in essence," for the organs of prosecution will not be "patiently waiting" for those perpetrators who are known to them or whose identity is established before the deadline mentioned in the question.

At this time it is worth remembering that article 2 of the amnesty law imposes an obligation to waive or drop sentencing proceedings if the perpetrator of a crime or crimes designated in this regulation was not formally charged by the day martial law was lifted and if he voluntarily, that is, of his own free will, reports by 31 October 1983 to the organs spoken about earlier, makes an official statement that he renounces the criminal activity, and also reveals the type of deed committed and the time and place of its commission. The regulation does not require disclosure of persons acting jointly in the crime. A statement of the kind of crime itself and--as the law says--of the time and place of its commission suffices; obviously, this does not mean that a person who turns himself in cannot on his own reveal more detailed circumstances of the crime committed.

[Question] As is known, crimes committed after martial law was lifted do not come under the amnesty. What is the situation of the perpetrators of these crimes, if they decide to turn themselves in at the last minute?

[Answer] If the crime was committed after martial law was lifted, that is, after 21 July 1983, or if the criminal activity began before that date but was completed or continued after it, then the amnesty statute cannot be applied to the perpetrator of this crime. It should be explained, however, that each perpetrator who turns himself in, and especially the one who thereby expresses compunction, can count on the court's treating this fact

as a circumstance having a fundamental influence on a lighter degree of punishment, inclusive with the possibility of its special commutation, in accordance with articles 50 and 57 of the Penal Code.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that if persons, including those who had directive and organizational roles, toward whom the amnesty has been applied do not commit a new, similar intentional crime within the trial period, that is, before 31 December 1985, then this fact makes it completely impossible to undertake, as provided for in article 7 of the law, sentencing proceedings for the deed encompassed by the amnesty.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

9451

CSO: 2600/229

PARTNERSHIP, COMPROMISE BETWEEN AUTHORITIES AND ARTISTS URGED

Warsaw KIERUNKI in Polish No 43, 23 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Jozef Szczawinski]

[Text] During the last few years, the situation in the artistic circles has been swelling with concern. This situation has led to a suspension and in some cases dissolution by the administrative authorities of a very important and large authors' association. Even if we do not examine the motives and arguments for this decision, we know that it has caused a severe gap that is already being felt by the writers. They have attempted to restore some of the unions in a scattered form or similar structure, but of course this is not politically possible in the old form.

I shall not conduct an analysis of this situation, nor do I wish to foresee how the arrangements of coexistence among the various attitudes and views within the artistic unions will prevail, but they must adopt a basic political realism in accordance with the laws of this country. However, one must be reminded that a special artistic law has existed through which the special needs of artistic circles have been realized. Likewise, these laws have allowed for administrative decisions regarding the contemporary culture of our country. During the past few years, we have heard a great deal from the highest political authorities about a partnership with the artistic circles and their influence in shaping cultural policy. Expressions like these were stated at the Council of Ministers. We hope that they will be fruitful in everyday practice.

This partnership is not a unilateral submission but rather a desire to work toward common goals. This goal for artistic circles should be to enrich society and the national culture in new and worthwhile works for readers, viewers and listeners. A new road for these goals will be created for artists so that they may achieve their projects and ideas. This also will involve a new climate for artists, including organizational, technical and financial support. This is why the artistic community cannot limit itself to social matters or influence on the culture. It must be concerned that creative freedom is respected. At the same time, an awareness is necessary among artists of their creative responsibility. They should be--like the PAX association on cultural matters--in union with citizens' sense of responsibility and function together with the nation and the state for the fate of the nation and the state.

Taking advantage of freedom of action and expression of opinion, as well as using the principles of partnership, the creative community and organizations should cooperate in using the social means supplied by the state, earmarked for cultural goals, and above all creation. These funds should be put to good use, which does not mean putting them into one pocket from another and losing some of the funds in the process. This is why there should be cooperation with ministries and state institutes regarding the disbursal of these funds. By no means will this diminish state competence, but rather it will work in partnership.

During the ensuing discussions and sometimes quarrels, the question arose as to how the artistic circles could influence the disbursal of funds and how they could be increased. There is a long list of institutions that can disburse the funds or influence their use. This concerns social bodies like the National Culture Council and also the people's councils. Let us hope they act in the spirit and the letter of the law on cultural affairs. There are also commissions in the Ministry of Culture that fulfill the role of group experts, and thus they also can be a form of cooperation with artistic circles. This also concerns the administration of funds earmarked for creative activity. A good example was the cooperation of the Ministry of Culture and Art with the Polish Writers' Union [ZLP] in framing scholarship funds. Undoubtedly after the creation of the Writers' Association, which is in keeping with the good traditions of the ZLP, it will have a great deal of say regarding the disbursal of funds for literature. Of course, these funds will remain under the disposition of the Ministry of Culture and Art.*

One of the most serious causes for problems in our contemporary culture is the diffusion of competence and means. It seems that various institutes and ministries, disbursing such means, could use these means more fully and usefully if they would work more closely with the creative community. It is necessary to remember that responsibility for the lack of such cooperation should not be placed only on one side.

Creative associations have through their statutes defined responsibilities toward their members. This concerns the entire issue of social matters, in which activists do not enter for a long time. These material needs should be increased both through conscious assistance and intervention. There should also be a series of needs considered; e.g., care for artists in old age, specific health care and special attention to diseases associated with the artistic profession. The most important and perhaps most difficult task will be, however, the influence of policy in the artistic arena and also the level of investment required to allow an artist to maintain his/her work. Payment for a work of art or literature, and especially literature, stands as a fundamental portion of costs associated with publication or distribution. A great deal already has been written about the situation among writers. However, no one has been able

* This article was written before the creation of the new Polish Writers' Association.

to prepare a long-range conception regarding improvement of conditions for artists. It has always been this way, and world culture is very rich in art created by poor artists.

Creative communities by nature have a tendency to become hermits. This does not concern only security from competition but also a healthy fear of losing creativity in a sea of mediocrity. This tendency to become hermits can touch two phenomena. These include the flow and the lack of flow of young talented artists into certain areas of creativity and the relationship with nonprofessional artists who comprise a portion of the professional world of art and literature.

Much has been stated and more will be stated in the future about the necessity to bring youth to literature. There have been several attempts to do this, especially through lowering the age for admittance to the ZLP, but this is not enough. It is worse that attempts to bring youth into literature have been used to strengthen the internal operations of the creative organization.

There have been attempts to win over youth into some orientation, to strengthen the interests of this or that group, to install youth in publishing houses or artistic institutions, and also bureaus that disburse funds for creative development. This has bled smaller towns of their creative talents and put pressure on artists. It frequently has contributed to abnormal relations between the artists and the institutions responsible for advancing their work. These factors cannot be mechanically nor administratively removed, so as not to create harmful institutions. In guaranteeing conditions for work and living in a smaller area, it is necessary to remember that obligations are two-sided and constant. This also concerns the publishing houses that should not become a place of residence for the artist. It is also necessary, although difficult in the country's current economic situation, to facilitate visits by artists to cultural centers. An artist living in the provinces can visit at his/her own cost Wroclaw, Warsaw, Poznan or Krakow. But some sort of tax deduction for artistic enhancement would be helpful. Something in this area should be done.

The young artist in the provinces--a large and worthwhile subject--also should be respected by sociologists and critics. Attempts have been made several times to ease the obligation of care by creative organizations over young artists or young candidates for artistic professions with special educational methods. Let us hope that the new organizations will not reject them.

The area of so-called nonprofessional creativity should not be secluded from so-called professional creativity. The area of professional creativity must be both protected and open for exceptional talents. In most cases, an effective barrier is the requirement to have a university degree in the arts, but even here there are sometimes justifiable exceptions. Criteria for evaluation and the barrier of regulations with respect to artistic creativity will continue to exist. Likewise, there

are restrictions against the rapid professionalization of amateur artists. This is why supporting amateurs and their affiliation with artistic circles should be strongly guarded through the observance of professional qualifications or university study. As anywhere, exceptions are possible, because no one has a patent on talent and mistakes can be particularly painful and cause social obstacles. Amateurs can present their works at exhibits, concerts or even in certain publishing houses. But in each case, there are tendencies to "correct" the social structure of the artistic community or to bring in younger artists. This should not be exaggerated and we do not need to have more pseudoartists.

There has been a lot of discussion recently about cultural centralization. Newly created or renewed creative organizations also should remember this. A strong step in this direction was taken by the Main Board to return to the former statute of the Union of Polish Writers.

The author, artist or actor living in the smaller community should not be forgotten by critics (but where now is the criticism?) nor avoided by means guaranteeing to him/her a wider audience, if so deserving. But, unfortunately, we tend to take artists and culture too lightly. This is manifested still in radio, press and particularly television.

As I have stated above, there are developing new or restored artistic organizations. How will they develop their relations with political centers and state institutions deciding about practical, immediate but long-range conditions for creativity and its dissemination? It is important that both in declarations appearing in the new institutions and in statements by many politicians, there is an avoidance of strong evaluations. Beginning again does not mean beginning in vain or in isolation from the past. It is important that management and the membership in general observe the legal statutes governing the artistic community. Both in texts governing the conditions of the institution's activities and in its obligations to its members there has to be a defense of diverse views and artistic freedom. This is discussed both in the institution's statutes and in its ideals, e.g., PAX. We read the following: "Participation in the development of Polish culture requires the observance of laws on freedom of expression of views and the ensurance of values, so that the law acts in the principle of state, national and moral responsibility for each cultural activity."

This gives a means by which to dissolve some difficulties but not to dissolve discrepancies between freedom and the artists' responsibility.

The responsibility, and not only the authority, of artistic organizations also should be internal activity and relations with other organizations or bureaus that allow for creativity and its dissemination, which is not always in accordance with the essence of creativity.

It my opinion, the task of creative organizations should be to fulfill educational needs, inspire internal discussions and create a pleasant atmosphere for the members to achieve their social and professional goals.

And there are many such institutions like the National Cultural Council of the Sejm and others that function legally and have influence on social events and the disbursal of funds for the creative community. This also concerns the recently neglected area of cultural unions with the work environment. I shall not divorce myself from the desert that has been created as a result of the elimination of many initiatives and bases for culture in this area. This is a separate subject. However, there are spontaneous and directed attempts on the part of interested workplaces in cultural activities. Creative associations should not be lacking in these attempts. Not all experiences from the past should be thrown into the trash can.

The establishment of a hierarchy of excellence in art and the placement on a ladder of creative geniuses is a phenomenon taking place in each cultural epoch. Another issue is that not all excellence has survived the passage of time or the manipulation of iconoclasts. Therefore, there are not any criteria in existence that could guarantee the permanence of hierarchical institutions. We cannot exclude the actions of factors outside art in the creation of opinion about the creator and his work. Even the most monumental creation in the pantheon is gnawed by time and ambitious rummagers. As long, and I am thinking about the longevity of contemporary art, as everything occurs as on Parnassus, then we can wait patiently for the corrections introduced by art and literature historians.

We frequently have been witnesses to a disquieting situation whereby a battle has taken place among various patrons, and this had had nothing to do with recognizing the pupil's genius or his/her actual artistic achievements. Of course, we cannot separate ourselves from the opinion-creating arena, which is after all very wide, governing values outside aesthetics. This would be absurd. In the same way, we cannot take lightly the sympathy or lack of it on the part of critics toward this or that individual artist. The danger appears if it is tied to the instrumental treatment of the artist and his/her work. This also concerns the disbursal of funds that help in uniting artists. In such a case, there is the temptation to manipulate talents or install artificial ones in a fairly long-lasting pyramid. This domination, as I have discussed, also causes the halting of development of artistic criticism representing truly diverse views or diverse value systems, but at the same time allowing for objective evaluations and clarity of critique.

The temptation to create the above-cited hierarchical institutions in creativity does not attack exclusively cultural administrative centers or cultural politicians having influence over these centers. It is necessary to state clearly that such artificial hierarchies have created or have lasted for goals beyond the sphere of culture and also the opposition environment. And it is over this that the battle raged for the soul of listeners and observers, who tried for various reasons to bewilder the majority. Let us not deceive ourselves. These practices do not appear here or elsewhere, because efficacy and specific effects are an enormous temptation for all involved.

This situation is not a specialty of recent years, but rather it has existed since the 1950's, when ideological and political declarations were tied to the officially proclaimed views of monotone in art. Of course, there were exceptions that allowed for the survival of many other values, but there was a strict rigor enforced in creative organizations. As we know, many artists elected to follow the official line, among them the authors of long-lasting works, but there were also others who changed their views and facade. Everyone has the right to his/her own view of reality. Let us simply remember the facts. Hierarchical ladders in culture exist, however, so that there are no misunderstandings but rather constructive needs, even if future generations change them. They should be none the less established in a manner that is natural based upon various artistic criteria and various views of common values.

Contained in the declarations and statutes of many creative organizations is the principle of participation in the work of these organizations by their members, without consideration for their views or convictions, guaranteeing these principles not only through the declarations and statutes but also through the social reality of our country and the shape and development of our culture.

The special atmosphere in the artistic communities and the actual activity of their organizations depends to a large degree on the climate in these communities, and thus on the atmosphere in the developing organizations. Arguments, discussions and even battles--these are normal phenomena. The final shape of hope rests on the common understanding of obligations vis-a-vis our national culture, which is a mutual and instrumental value.

9807

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FOUNDATION, STRUCTURE OF SOCIALISM EXPLORED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Prof Edward Erazmus, Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, PZPR Central Committee]

[Text] It would be a truism to state that the premises for strengthening pro-socialist tendencies in Poland are becoming enriched. Admist clashes between various tendencies a dispute is being settled on the form of the marxist-leninist party, its revolutionary character, its role in class and political struggles, its role as a political representative of the workers class, and on strengthening its theoretical function. The debate about the party is also a debate about the role of the party as the theoretician, politician, and organizer of the spontaneous activity of the workers class in the process of overcoming the crisis.

In most general and slightly simplified terms the purpose is to facilitate proper relations between the workers class and PZPR as well as to answer the following questions: Should socialism be the work of the workers class as suggested by the revisionists? Should it be the work of the party alone as suggested by the dogmatics? Or, should it be mainly the work of the workers class, and other classes and allied groups under the leadership of the marxist-leninist party and allied parties?

Another problem is to reflect on the theory of building developed socialism in the present conditions. The thesis spread by the pro-capitalist and anarchosyndicalist forces stating that socialism can and ought to be the work of the society and the nation alone without the participation of the marxist-leninist parties has been left out of the debate.

The questions signalled above require well thought out answers. The party, the workers class, the intelligentsia, and other social groups await the answers. Actually, we are talking about making more precise the concept of building socialism in our Polish conditions. We are talking about enriching the ideological principles to the point of demonstrating that socialism and the party are one. This is important, because many believe that a party which is looking for ways to build socialism and to strengthen its identity ought to appear--and rightfully so--as a force of revolutionary social changes and as a party of economic and political reform. One thing seems obvious: when the party is in power it has no choice but to maintain

its revolutionary character and to effect reforms in social and political life. The reforms alone with the party abandoning its revolutionary character invite stagnation and in the ideological sphere they lead to the abandonment of principles. An aversion to reforms, in turn, pushes the party toward leftist opportunism and, for all practical purposes, toward confirming the belief that socialism can be built by the subordinate apparatus of power in the interest of the workers class, but without its continuous support.

Is this dilemma impossible to resolve? No! The party can on the one hand strengthen its revolutionary character and on the other hand initiate systemic reforms and mobilize the working people for the execution of the main directions. Naturally, this is not an easy process. Reforms are being stalled by both objective and subjective factors. Among the former we can count the very bad economic situation and the strengthening of the commodity-monetary economy, which affects the living conditions of the working people, while among the latter we can count out-of-control social consciousness; aversion to work; loyalty to outmoded patterns of rule and economic management; preference for office-type decisionmaking processes as well as for manipulating people and information; and susceptibility to corruption and privileges, based on position and title rather than on work. It appears that it is difficult to overcome the habit of giving information in doses and of inconsistent execution of party resolutions or government decisions. Often, decisiveness is replaced by vacillation and ideological loyalty by particularist interests. Often, the attitudes of involvement and sacrifice are less valued than red tape and pragmatism, while opportunism in its simple form outweighs tolerance for other judgments as well as boldness of thought and action. Opportunism is a constant threat to renewal; not the theoretical one--from the left or the right--but that simple one exemplified by people's adjustment to any situation, to any leadership, or coworkers. Even political and social opportunism changes its form: the former means retaining one's seat in the power structure at any cost in exchange for flattery, servility, and disdain for principles, while the latter means readiness to adapt to those who supposedly "feel and think the same" and supposedly constitute "the majority" of society.

The reader may say that these statements have no relation to the theory and that they only describe facts present here and there. However, these phenomena are related to the theory as well. This happens when they are a common occurrence and hamper, or even halt, the process of moral and political renewal. When opportunism clearly is in the way it must be effectively combatted. We must combat the effects, but the causes as well. To make this happen, first it is necessary to spot, uncover, and publicly unmask the carriers of opportunism as well as to get rid of the social roots of evil, both the collective and the individual ones.

Had the party abandoned its ambition to watch the negative processes--such as the existence of antisocialist opposition, red tape, flattery, corruption--the path to renewal would still be paved with cobblestones.

There is a need for a theory of political and social pathology as well.

A theory is needed not just to enable an explanation of the sources of successes and failures. Reality cannot be transformed without a theory. On the other hand, modernization of the system of government or the economy must not be a spontaneous movement or just the result of activities forced by groups of people who organize outside the party and socialist political and social organizations. Furthermore, to avoid another crisis the presentday decisions of the political authorities require a scientific analysis. This is also a requirement for achieving the consolidation of the party and society around everything that offers hope for national, moral, and political renewal and at the same time will allow transformations to continue and draw benefits from past achievements. The renewal process can be and was hampered by excessive optimism. It also can be obstructed by excessive pessimism, lack of faith in the meaning of action, and excessive fear of tomorrow. The renewal is taking place in a complex situation; the property, religious, and political relations are complicated. It is defined by the diversified consciousness of the workers and peasant classes, and particularly of the intelligentsia.

There is no doubt that the PZPR has a particular responsibility in this process, and the party will fulfill its task if it acts dynamically like a seismograph, accurately registering and processing impulses coming from the workers class and other groups of the working people. That is not enough, however. The party also must skillfully transform these various opinions into a development program for the country and then use the content in the right direction.

The party fulfills its duty only when it enriches the theory and when its leaders and functionaries on all levels of party life are capable of generalizing their experiences and on this basis to prepare multi-variant concepts with regard to the execution of the theoretical fundamentals. At present this is a must. It is common knowledge that the party is not shirking this duty because it knows that the system of government is always prone to stagnation, numbness, and self-congratulation.

Can this danger be thwarted?

Creative Marxism offers such an opportunity. Creative Marxism is a barrier for unilateral interpretations of reality and strategic decision. Marxism is creative when it looks at phenomena within the context of the workers class and of the practice of building socialism in the world and in Poland; when it presents reality not as a world desired, but as something that objectively exists; and when it serves as a tool for uncovering conflicts and solving social conflicts as well as a theory explaining movement, growth, and stagnation in social life. Marxism as a scientific theory and ideology of the workers class must not be viewed as just an instrument of ideological-educational activities. We may even risk formulating a thesis that one who would limit the ideological function of the party to its didactic function, exemplified by various forms of party training, would be more interested in copying reality--and, sometimes, in its further mystification--than in transforming social

relations by means of the activation of the social activities of people. This does not mean that the educational function of ideology is not important. It is just not enough. Interpretation of terms and basic categories or cataloguing of phenomena alone lead in the wrong direction and bring about simplifications. The party's ideological work does not mean transmission of generalized statements; it also involves thinking and talking about the means to execute tasks as well as about social forces, which are either interested in their execution or not.

Educational activity does not mean only a verbal approval of the supreme and secondary values of Marxism, but also the introduction of socialist consciousness in the workers class. There is also a reverse relation: the party learns and derives its strength from the workers class.

All in all, PZPR ideology becomes scientific when it is a result of skillful concretization of the marxist theory of social development and of the theoretical and practical accomplishments of other communist parties as well as a result of adapting Polish conditions to the universal features of ideology and the new situation in which the Polish society lives.

What is the new situation? The party carries out its activities on the one hand within the framework of social accords and the law, and on the other hand within society, torn by various contradictions. The limits of its free activities are delineated by the will of the workers class, its basic interests, and by the supreme principles of marxist ideology.

This thesis does not limit the party's leading role. It confirms the willingness of the party to abandon former means of rule and education of the masses.

It also confirms that the ideological function of the party may materialize mainly due to continuous recognition of contradictions between the production means and production relations, between neocapitalist and prosocialist forces, between pragmatic structures of management and government of the society and spontaneous behavior of the workers class, between the inertia of old habits and recognized needs of reform in the system of political and economic government, between the class tasks of the state and the state of the economy, etc.

It appears that the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the questions of the class and political allies and of the system of coalition government require a new analysis. These are important questions. Among procapitalist forces there are tendencies to favor creation of political pluralism. It is sufficient to listen to some statements to conclude that this is a dream of various political tendencies.

What I have already noted points to a complex situation and to the fact that along with positive transformations there are threats to the renewal process, to the development of the theory, and to practice. Therefore, we await a theoretical reflection which will point the direction of our march. No doubt, its lines will be more clearly drawn by the 13th Plenum of PZPR Central Committee.

SFRY ASSEMBLY'S FEDERAL CHAMBER HOLDS SESSION

LD181156 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0949 GMT 17 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber (with Aslan Fazlija in the chair) today discussed the program of measures and activities in the implementation of the decisions taken at the seven nonaligned conference and adopted conclusions on that activity. It also discussed other foreign political subjects, such as a report on the results of the sixth UNCTAD and a report by the Yugoslav delegation on the work of the Madrid meeting of the CSCE. The chamber also believes it necessary to carry out thorough preparations for all activities aimed at creating a zone of peace and cooperation in the Balkans free of any nuclear weapons as an integral part of the efforts toward promoting peace and security in the Mediterranean and Europe.

Before the discussion the delegates heard a report by Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, on current international problems.

The Federal Chamber today adopted the rebalance of the budget for 1983 and held a discussion on current questions concerning the fulfillment of the constitutional role of the judiciary and the standardization of prosecution and penal policy in the sphere of political delinquency.

Continuing its work the Federal Chamber heard a report by delegate Branko Jovetic, who acquainted the members of the chamber with the recommendations of the Foreign Policy Committee of this chamber and the Committee for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces concerning adopting conclusions on the implementation of the decisions of the seventh non-aligned conference.

Branko Jovetic drew the delegates' attention to the fact that this is the first time that a complete program of activities and measures has been presented to this chamber for adoption, which should serve as the basis for launching a broad social action in our country with the aim of realizing the decisions of the seventh nonaligned summit. The successful realization of the program presupposes the involvement of all exponents of international cooperation in our country. In this connection he recalled that it is now essential that all subjects of international cooperation adopt their own programs and plans.

Delegate Jovetic emphasized that three directions of our activity are outlined in the program of measures: First, joint activity with nonaligned and other countries in international forums for building a new international economic order and for beginning global negotiations; second, the development of reciprocal economic cooperation between nonaligned countries and developing countries; and third, the development of bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and developing countries.

Next, delegate of the Federal Chamber Boro Gorjan (SR of Slovenia) proposed the adoption of conclusions on support for the work of the Yugoslav delegation at the Madrid meeting of the CSCE. He proposed that the chamber invite all subjects of foreign policy in our country to implement the decisions that were adopted at this important meeting.

Delegate Boro Gorjan especially emphasized that our delegation in Madrid attempted within the context of our nonaligned policy to contribute as much as possible to the resolution of European problems. "In this way," he added, "Yugoslavia was very often a necessary interpreter of the best traditions of Europe on other continents--at various manifestations of nonaligned policy or when pooling the resources of all countries in the process of development." We did not allow these processes to be restricted to narrow individual problems which would be limited to regions and continents, Boro Gorjan stated.

Continuing to speak about the scope of Yugoslav foreign policy, delegate Gorjan mentioned the great involvement of our working people in examining problems on the international scene and added that this is a result of being well-informed by a large amount of good information in this area. All our working people are acquainted with the formation of policies in the area of international relations, he stressed.

Boro Gorjan went on to say: "This is certainly a modern and very democratic approach to the solution of such important questions as relations with neighboring countries, the structuring of stances on international world questions, and above all, a specific approach to the solution of the problem of peace. We have achieved undeniable successes in the process of the socialization of foreign policy. The interest and hence the readiness and desire to participate in this process of creating our policies is so evident among our people that this has become a practice, and this increasing possibility has now become their real and inalienable property. A well-informed nation is a very important element in the process of decision-making.

"This is why I consider that we should realize the high degree of information flow in our country. I maintain that in this respect we should consider ourselves on a par with the more developed environments around us and in the world at large."

Hojo Sekulovski then took the floor and informed delegates of the debate held at the joint session of the Foreign Policy Committee of this chamber and the Committee for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces on all-Balkan cooperation.

In this connection Sekulovski stated that the Foreign Policy Committee supported the initiatives of the Federal Executive Council and called for their further development. The committee also proposed that the chamber adopt the information and conclusions on multilateral Balkan cooperation.

Delegate Anton Vratusa, president of the committee, reported from the Foreign Policy Committee on the course and results of the sixth UNCTAD in Belgrade. He stated that this conference did not produce the expected results, particularly not in relation to the extensive preparations and statements of goodwill that preceded it. UNCTAD did not answer the essential needs of the contemporary world, nor make room for global negotiations or make a more serious move forward in establishing a new international economic order, Vratusa added.

However, delegate Anton Vratusa emphasized, the UNCTAD conference did reflect the increasing realization that the old system must be changed, although there was no success at the conference in reducing the differences in the assessment of the crisis and its sources and causes, nor in the assessment of how to emerge from it. In fact, nobody was ready to accept responsibility for the complete failure of the conference. However, there was also insufficient political will on the part of the developed countries to positively reply to the constructive and positive proposals of the developing countries. This situation is unfortunately continuing, Vratusa stressed.

After hearing the report from the Foreign Policy Committee, the Federal Chamber moved on to adopt conclusions.

Aslan Fazlija, presiding, called on the delegates to adopt the conclusions on implementing the decisions of the seventh nonaligned summit held in New Delhi. The delegates of the Federal Chamber unanimously adopted these conclusions, which were also adopted by the delegates of the Chamber of Republics and provinces at its session on 3 November this year.

The chamber then unanimously adopted the conclusions on Yugoslavia's activity in the area of multilateral Balkan cooperation, which is of vital interest to our country from the point of view of its independence, security and nonaligned international position.

In the conclusions it is emphasized that it is essential to carry out thorough preparations for all activities that aim to create a zone of peace and cooperation free of nuclear weapons in the Balkans, as an integral part of the efforts for the promotion of peace and security in the Mediterranean and Europe.

In its conclusion the Federal Chamber also noted the need to study all possibilities for developing multilateral cooperation in the area of the economy, science, technology, culture, information and communications, and where common interests exist, to launch an action for establishing long-term joint programs. The chamber also highlighted the importance of Yugoslav initiatives for promoting long-term industrial cooperation and specialization, including the cooperation of the Balkan countries on third markets.

The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber then unanimously adopted the Yugoslav delegation's report on the work of the Madrid CSCE meeting and supported the Federal Executive Council's stand on the need to establish a program of activity of this federal administrative organ and the federal organizations for the implementation of the final document of the Madrid meeting.

Anton Vratusa, delegate from the SR of Slovenia, then announced that the Foreign Policy Committee of the Federal Chamber had examined the general trends in the world during the week and concluded that in the existing international situation and practice open aggression is being increasingly blatantly imposed on sovereign countries, that foreign occupation of independent countries is being carried out as well as interference of all kinds in the internal affairs of independent states, and that new crises are appearing in various parts of the world. In addition to all this, he added, there is an increase in the arms race and further deepening of the confrontation from bloc positions.

The committee delegates unanimously supported all the activities being undertaken by the Federal Executive Council, together with other peace-loving forces, particularly in the framework of the nonaligned movement and in the United Nations, with the aim of halting the bloody campaign against the existence of the Palestinian people, returning independence to Lebanon and enabling the people of the Republic of Cyprus to overcome their internal difficulties, as a non-aligned country and on the basis of equality and the free development and mutual trust of its national communities without outside interference, Anton Vratusa went on to say.

On behalf of the Foreign Policy Committee, Anton Vratusa proposed that the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber accept the statement on the situation in the Middle East and in Cyprus.

The session continued with the adopting of an SFRY Assembly statement in connection with the unilateral statement of independence of occupied Cyprus, as follows:

"The situation created in Cyprus by the unilateral declaration of independence by the northern part of the Republic of Cyprus gives rise to profound anxiety on the part of the SFRY Assembly.

"This act, which is in violation of the decisions of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly, represents an attempt to divide the Republic of Cyprus. It deepens the existing crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean and creates yet another source of danger to peace and security in this region.

"The SFRY Assembly condemns this unacceptable act and calls on the UN General Assembly and the Security Council, within whose jurisdiction the resolution of the Cyprus issue lies, to undertake urgent measures to abrogate this act and to create conditions for renewed efforts to resolve the existing problems by peaceful means. This can be achieved only through negotiations on an equal basis between the two Cypriot communities, under the auspices of the United Nations with full respect for the principles of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus, and on the basis of the decisions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the documents of the nonaligned summit.

"The SFRY Assembly calls on the parliaments of all countries, especially the nonaligned and CSCE participant states, to exert efforts to maintain the independence and territorial integrity of the nonaligned Republic of Cyprus."

The chamber also adopted unanimously an SFRY Assembly statement on the situation in the Middle East. The statement reads:

"The SFRY Assembly concludes that the latest developments in the Middle East, increased presence and interference by foreign factors, the continuation of aggressive actions and threats by Israel and the increasing concentration of arms and armed forces in this region represent a direct threat to world peace.

"The armed attacks on the forces of the PLO in northern Lebanon and the internal conflicts in that country, together with foreign occupation and interference, represent a most immediate threat to the achievement of the just goals of the Palestinian people's struggle to realize their inalienable rights to national independence and establish their own independent state, as well as to Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"Yugoslavia advocates a peaceful, all-embracing and permanent solution of the Middle East crisis, the realization of the Palestinian people's national rights under the leadership of the PLO as its legitimate representative, the cessation of armed attacks on the PLO and acceptance of its independence, and also a halt to the fratricidal clashes in Lebanon. At the same time it calls upon Arab countries, especially Syria, to make a united contribution to achieving these goals in the spirit of nonaligned policy.

"The SFRY Assembly expresses the profound conviction that in conditions where the prospects for peace in the Middle East are further away than ever before and when dangers are being increasingly heightened, the international community must do everything in its power to ensure that all forces are concentrated on solving the crisis and establishing a situation that will consolidate peace and security in the Middle East region on permanent bases and in accordance with the UN Charter and the principles of nonaligned policy."

Continuing the session, the Federal Chamber adopted the law placing a temporary ban on disposing part of the social funds of sociopolitical communities and self-managing interest communities engaged in social affairs this year. According to this law, joint and general consumption and also consumption in the nature of personal incomes (social insurance, child allowance, unemployment benefit and the like) [JANJUG parenthesis] may rise by 18 percent this year in comparison with last year's level. Pension and disability funds, compensation for differences in rail fares, money for the Titograd-Skadar railroad and taxes from personal incomes destined for agricultural development are exempt from this restriction.

Abbreviated procedure was then invoked to adopt the amendments and addenda to this year's federal budget which has been increased from 245.3 billion to 261.6 billion. With regard to the fact that the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces decided to increase the budget by 16.33 billion dinars, the Federal Chamber today verified the distribution of that "surplus." The greatest sums

will go to the largest budget beneficiaries: the Yugoslav People's Army with 2.2 billion; 7.8 billion to veterans' and disability pensions, and 3.5 billion for financing the federation. The sum of 1.8 billion will be allocated for insured military personnel; 510 million for Kosovo; 209 million for the Montenegrin pension and disability insurance community; and 160 million will be used for the need of the Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo.

Further in the session the delegates debated current issues relating to realizing the constitutional role of the judiciary; Borislav Krajina, member of the Federal Executive Council, delivered the introductory remarks on this topic. He underlined that the promptness and efficiency of the work of the judicial organs still constitute the greatest and most difficult problem of our judiciary, despite the fact that a certain improvement has come about recently. This problem not only has a negative effect on the quality of their work, but there is a danger that their authority and social prestige may be gravely undermined. (It is therefore essential), Krajina stressed, for ways and means of resolving these and other problems relating to the judiciary to be found rapidly.

Touching on penal policy, Borislav Krajina stressed that the judicial organs and other social subjects are not sufficiently involved with this. He added that more work must be done to standardize this, because there are still considerable differences in pronouncing sanctions. It is true that these differences do not derive from differing views on the part of courts and public procuracies upon the general danger from crimes, Krajina said. He gave a very positive evaluation of the increasingly successful ideopolitical activity against hostile outbursts, which is helping the judicial organs in the identification and prosecution of the culprits.

Continuing his expose, Borislav Krajina pointed to progress in preventive measures taken by the judicial organs. He commented, however, that they should have more help in this work from other social subjects. He said that the custom is poorly developed whereby those responsible in an environment for various criminal forms of behavior are exposed ideopolitically, although experience confirms that socially harmful phenomena cannot be prevented by judicial measures alone. As a striking example of this he cited the phenomenon of issuing uncovered cheques, which is becoming increasingly widespread.

Borislav Krajina concluded his expose by underlining that the present time requires full efficiency on the part of the judicial organs and additions to the system of law, and informed the delegates that amendments to a number of laws have already been ratified in the Federal Executive Council which should contribute to the efficiency of the judicial organs in protecting social relations, self-managing rights, social property and the personal and other citizens' rights.

Concluding the examination of this point on the agenda, the Federal Chamber adopted certain decisions. Bearing in mind the phenomena of violation of legality and constitutionality, the chamber pointed to the necessity for the legislative organs to carry out their constitutional tasks consistently and thereby help to suppress crime in all spheres of life. It is particularly important in so doing for the criteria for prosecution, classification of crimes and penal

policy to be standardized. Acknowledging that the process of the socialization of judicial organs is progressing on constitutional bases, although to differing degrees in individual areas, the Federal Chamber adopted a stance on the necessity for this to be furthered and for these organs to communicate with other organs of society. The chamber also advocated more rapid development of the self-managing judiciary, while underlining that other forms of self-managing courts should be developed, in addition to associated labor courts--such as arbitration courts, elected courts, reconciliation courts, and the like--in order that as many disputes as possible may be resolved where they arise.

The chamber decisions go on to emphasize that all organs in society should help to guarantee the material, cadre, organizational and other prerequisites through which conditions may be created for efficient and prompt work of a high quality on the part of the judicial organs. One of the chief conditions for this is that long-term cadre policy in electing those fulfilling judicial functions should be elaborated.

In addition to the stance that those executing judicial functions must of necessity be accorded the social treatment which corresponds to the task they are fulfilling, the decisions the Federal Chamber adopted today also contain the obligation for these organs to promote their own method of work, enhance their skills and promptness and accuracy, and step up accountability for execution of tasks.

In accordance with the chamber decision, the independence of courts and other judicial organs must be maintained and constantly ensured, as this is the condition of the correct execution of the judicial function.

It was also agreed that the Federal Executive Council should monitor the implementation of these decisions and inform the Federal Chamber about this.

Continuing their work, the delegates examined an analysis of topical issues relating to the standardization of prosecution policy and penal policy in the sphere of political delinquency. The chamber also adopted appropriate decisions in this connection. It was assessed, first and foremost, that the organs responsible for suppressing and preventing political delinquency have carried out their tasks successfully, and it was indicated that the struggle against political crime should continue to be a priority task. It is also essential that the federal judicial organs make greater use of the existing mechanisms which the constitution and the law places at their disposal to standardize prosecution and penal policy. With regard to the fact that coordinated action by the competent organs is very important for effective discovery, prosecution and conviction, it is necessary to further develop and promote all forms of cooperation and exchanges of experience.

The decisions further contain the obligation for the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office to monitor the effects of its obligatory instructions regarding the standardized application of federal regulations and ordinances on crimes against the foundations of the self-managing social order and the security of the SFRY in the work of the public prosecutor's offices, and to brief the SFRY Assembly on this. In connection with the exodus from Kosovo, the decisions formulate the view that the investigation and prosecution organs should act much more rapidly and effectively on the statements from persons who have moved out, when there is suspicion that pressurization is involved.

Concluding the session, the Federal Chamber adopted a feasibility analysis relating to organizing automatic data processing, that is computer centers, in the organs of the federation. It was also pointed out that there is considerable delay in executing the law on the bases of the social system of information and on the information system of the federation, and especially in drawing up the law on the method of executing joint tasks and the tasks of the social system of information of interest for the entire country.

The chamber adopted the proposal for the adoption of a law on the interest community for housing construction and management of housing for the use of workers and officials of the federal organs; and the draft law amending the law on the census of the population, households and apartments in 1981.

After a short debate, the proposal that the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly should also participate in concluding a social agreement on the bases of joint policy in the sphere of employment and its implementation in the SFRY was also adopted. A report on implementation of the law on health regulations relating to foodstuffs and consumer goods was also adopted.

CSO: 2800/90

POPIT INDICATES SYSTEM NOT TO BLAME FOR PROBLEMS

AU172110 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 83 p 6

[Report by D. Becirovic]

[Excerpt] During their 2-day visit to the Zenica party organization, France Popit, member of the LCY Central Committee, and Hrvoje Istuk, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, attended a session of two LC organizations of workers at the coking plant in Zenica.

The communists of the coking plant pointed out the disunity in the League of Communists, expressing the opinion that unity first of all be achieved in the most responsible bodies.

Replying to numerous questions by communists, France Popit remarked that the proposition that we are all to blame appears to be an excuse. "Do not accept such excuses," Popit said.

"It is not true that we are all to blame. The system is not to blame either, but those who conduct the economic policy are. We know precisely who these people are, but nobody, from the Federal Executive Council downwards, wants to point a finger at them. A change in the political system is advocated, but it is known that economic policy is to be blamed," Popit said, among other things.

Replying to workers' observations that cadres do not return to their original jobs after the expiration of their terms of office, Popit said that "we did not act sensibly in adopting 1-year terms of office, for one hardly sits down before it is time to go."

Explaining that one must work patiently and should not lose one's nerve, because we have successfully lived through even worse situations, Popit said that we have agreed on positions concerning the long-term stabilization program.

Some people, however, seem to have forgotten that we have agreed on a platform, and they are screaming that the political system should be changed. There are those in whose interest it is to change even the constitution, as well as those who want to bring back central management. "Talk about the foreign exchange market centers on taking foreign exchange from those who earn it and putting it into a

central fund from which the money would be distributed. And who would distribute it? The federation administration, of course. I do not see how that administration could find a way in which the collectives earning foreign exchange would be stimulated by such distribution. In Slovenia we believe that there can be no foreign exchange market until a positive balance is achieved," Popit said, among other things.

CSO: 2800/90

DRAGOSAVAC ADDRESSES SARAJEVO MEETING ON AVNOJ DECISIONS

LD161559 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 16 Nov (TANJUG)--Doctor Dusan Dragosavac, in his opening speech at the scientific gathering on the decisions of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AYNOJ] spoke about current national and international problems. He said that in the present circumstances, both in the capitalist and socialist countries, these problems had become exacerbated and pressing primarily because a relatively large number of people live in states which are nationally heterogeneous.

For us, too, and our country, the national question is ever present. There are still forces which, Dragosavac stressed, attempt in various ways and sometimes manage, in the objective circumstances of the national makeup and diversity of our society, its class structure and our international position, to manipulate part of the backward masses among whom the blame for all these problems, not merely in the past but also the present day, is laid at the door of other nations.

Unfortunately, Dr Dragosavac noted, Yugoslav society is not spared nationalist and even racist manifestations. They come to the fore more noticeably at certain times of crisis and in environments where political and party activity has lapsed. Nationalists then try to harness certain scientific disciplines, especially history, ethnology, archeology, linguistics, theology, and so forth, for their own evil purposes. And when they demonstrate who moved first to which area and which nation or nationality had its roots in which people, it is reactionary to try in any way whatsoever to establish a pure race, nation or territory in order to create "an ethnically pure living space," Dr Dusan Dragosavac said among other things.

CSO: 2800/90

CKREBIC ADDRESSES SERBIA LC SESSION

LD032157 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 3 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG)--In the Socialist Republic of Serbia we today have at our disposal all the necessary material prerequisites and subjective forces required to establish and carry out the immediate tasks of the long-term Serbian League of Communist Central Committee, stated in a report opening the debate on the immediate tasks of the League of Communists in carrying out the long-term economic stabilization program in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Continuing his report at today's session of the Central Committee, Dusan Ckrebic evaluated the results of economic stabilization in the Socialist Republic of Serbia so far. No essential changes have as yet been wrought, he said, and in some environments awareness of the need for these is dawning impermissibly slowly. The organizations of associated labor rightly expect that all relevant conditions for economic activity will be established in good time by means of the resolution on 1984 economic policy. However, work on this is very much behind schedule, and it is particularly worrying that there are no reliable forecasts for the volume and quality of changes in the economic system.

Commenting on the economic results achieved this year, the president of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee declared that there are indications that output will reach last year's level. The economy is showing vitality; under the existing circumstances it has succeeded in increasing exports to convertible currency areas by 12 percent. The degree to which exports cover imports has risen. The share of exports in the value of output is greater than last year, but continues to be unsatisfactory.

Investment expenditure in the republic has been reduced, Ckrebic said, but the rate at which this is being done is much slower than envisaged. Figures on investment in power engineering and the agricultural complex are an encouraging feature of the investment structure. The attitude towards accumulation is changing, and according to the figures for the first half year, funds for accumulation have increased their share of net income by 3.5 percent. Going on to stress that we must first and foremost bend our efforts towards output, Ckrebic gave a graphic description of the acute labour crisis: we have great expanses of land which are only partially or not at all cultivated, much unutilized capacity, and nearly a million people seeking work, while at least twice as many who have jobs are not fully utilized economically.

Continuing his exposition, the president of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee advocated that the League of Communists casts a critical eye on its own attitude toward statism and toward state regulation of economic processes, and that it gradually but decisively move away from a situation in which many inadequate measures and accumulated administrative regulations are identified with League of Communists policy.

In this afternoon's discussion it was emphasized that awareness of the responsibility of the League of Communists for the realization of the program of stabilization is spreading rapidly, among an increasing number of the party membership and particularly among the leaders of the basic organizations. Increasingly prominent is the awareness that practical action must be undertaken by everyone in his own environment. The demands of working people for concrete moves in the direction of long-term economic stabilization are also increasing. However, as it was stated in the discussion, outside of this active attitude towards the tasks of economic stabilization, there are a number of communists who have become passive, particularly in the smallest and medium-sized organizations of associated labor.

Lack of activity is also present in the undeveloped village environments in which the socioeconomic relations we would like have not yet been established, and we must conduct a decisive struggle against passivity and inactivity.

With the adoption of the report by Dusan Ckrebic, president of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, and the conclusions on the immediate tasks of the League of Communists in the realization of the long-term program of economic stabilization in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Serbian LC Central Committee ended its work this evening.

CSO: 2800/90

GOVERNMENT, LCY HEADS GREET ANDROPOV ON GOSR ANNIVERSARY

Spiljak Greetings

LD060615 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0831 GMT 6 Nov 83

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Nov (TANJUG)--In connection with the Great October Anniversary, Mika Spikjak, president of the SFRY Presidency on behalf of the SFRY Presidency has sent a telegram of cordial greetings to Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The telegram expresses best wishes for the all-round progress of the friendly people of the Soviet Union and stresses the conviction that the further development of the Yugoslav-Soviet friendly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation on the jointly determined principles is in the lasting interest of the peoples of both countries.

Markovic Message

LD062336 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2130 GMT 6 Nov 83

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Nov (TANJUG)--In connection with the 66th anniversary of the October Revolution, Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has sent on behalf of the LCY Central Committee and his own behalf a telegram to Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with cordial congratulations and best wishes for the further socialist development of the country and for the prosperity of the friendly peoples of the Soviet Union. The telegram expresses satisfaction with the successful development of relations and cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU and between the two countries, as well as readiness to promote them further in the interest of the peoples of our countries, peace, mutual cooperation, progress and socialism in the world.

CSO: 2800/90

BELGRADE OPINION SURVEY FINDS INCREASING PESSIMISM

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1713, 30 Oct
83 pp 12-14

[Article by Milan Milosevic]

[Text] "In your opinion, what are the relations between various nations today; what is, in your opinion, the prestige of the SK in the society, what sacrifices would you accept for the stabilization of the economy, is there nationalism among the young people?" These were some of the questions in an extensive public opinion survey in Belgrade which the Center for Political Science Research of the Institute for Social Sciences in Belgrade made this spring. As the researchers themselves (11 analysts in various areas, Sergije Pegan research director) concluded, public opinion was examined with regard to problems which by their socioeconomic weight make the situation serious, and sometimes even difficult. The analysts have concluded that in this situation there is excessive complaining, seductive inertia and fetishist dependence on state-administrative measures.

To what degree are the inhabitants of Belgrade aware of their condition, informed, interested, personally affected, to what degree do they accept the administrative measures, are they ready for personal sacrifice?

Public opinion changes from day to day, yet it can still offer some valuable indications about the range of some political and social undertakings.

Belgrade's most serious problem is unemployment--this is the opinion of 41 percent of the 1,000 surveyed persons (chosen on the basis of the so-called quota pattern, 10 persons in each of the 100 communes on the territory of the metropolitan Belgrade). Among the young people, the number of those who think that employment is the main social problem reaches 59 percent. About 10 years ago, in a similar survey, the inhabitants of Belgrade pointed out housing as the greatest problem, followed by traffic problems, but now they have become sensitive to the "first existential level, "to unemployment and poor supplying which is also pointed out as a serious problem. (The majority of the surveyed persons said, for example, that the lack of medicines is a "shame for the country and the society.")

Scarcity of apartments and communal problems also represent a worry for the people of Belgrade, and a minority finds these problems the most painful.

The researches have concluded that the worry about unemployment has with some categories of people begun to grow into anxiety, and they find certain similarities here with the period after the economic reform of 1965.

To the question, what sacrifice should be accepted in order to stabilize the economy, two thirds of the surveyed persons answered that it should not be manifested as diminished employment. This list of acceptable and unacceptable sacrifices contains some contradictions, but it also may offer the data that best indicate the present state of public opinion. Besides a diminished employment, the Belgraders would not accept the solution of "less money for social needs, education, etc." either (66 percent), would not accept the drop of personal incomes (56), or reduced building of new factories (45)...

The acceptance sacrifices are: to work more (83 percent), closing of unprofitable enterprises (76 percent) and fewer funds for the underdeveloped (50 percent). The researches tend to interpret the latter opinion as a consequence of the events in Kosovo. It is indicative that 30 percent of the surveyed persons refused to give their opinion on the aid to the underdeveloped.

A few more details from this list are surprising at first sight: the "defense" of health service, culture and education appears in a higher percentage than the refusal to accept the drop of personal incomes. As it is known, the drop of personal incomes in some categories has reached the critical phase.

The researchers point out that some of these areas which satisfy vital needs of the widest strata of the population also suffer from chronic scarcity (medicines), which may explain the citizens' reactions. Almost two thirds of the surveyed citizens expressed readiness to solve city's problems by voluntary local taxes in the future, too.

Another surprise, for example, consists in the fact that among those who accept the drop of the standard of living--and there are 27 percent of such people--there are retired people, beside the professionals. The explanation probably consists in the fact that the former remember worse times.

The survey shows that only 16 percent of citizens can presently cover their expenses with their income, and 46 percent state that they can meet the cost of living only by making great sacrifices. This spring, when the survey was made, 60 percent of citizens forecasted that the cost of living would increase this year from 30 to 50 percent, and 45 percent of them expressed their "hope" that the standard of living will fall in 1984 too. The preoccupation with the existence is thus obvious, and it seems to be positive that the citizens' predictions do not rely on the

hopes (we said that most of them do not want to accept the "sacrifice of personal income"), but they count with real possibilities under complex conditions. This is certainly a symptom of a certain sobering of the public. The researchers point out that precisely this is necessary because false illusions can have negative consequences both at the economic and the social and political level. In one word, the sobering can be accompanied by radical and social-demagogic demands.

This conclusion derived on the basis of a common distribution of replies shows that Belgrade public opinion reacts realistically and moderately, and shows the capacity to appropriately judge social relations. This is why we should not underestimate it in sociopolitical activity, but on the contrary, we should take it into account as much as possible.

The sense of reality is also visible when the answers to questions about desirable personal income are analyzed. Forty percent of skilled and semiskilled workers, housewives and other poor categories estimates that the income of a 4-member family in Belgrade should be between 25,000 and 35,000 dinars. This opinion is shared by one third of the total population of Belgrade. One half of the surveyed persons think that this amount should be over 35,000 dinars, although in the opinion of the researchers, there were no hugely unrealistic demands.

This survey brought up a large number of interesting and sometimes confusing indications about the pulse of the public opinion: for example, 61 percent not only support the issuance of coupons but even propose the introduction of new ones, if it is necessary; the dissatisfaction with the health service is visible, but the introduction of private medical service is not approved; full 42 percent of the surveyed persons did not want to give their opinion on the SIZ's, and 28 percent think that the introduction of the SIZ's is totally unjustified... There is a number of other observations: that young people are pushed away from the social scene by older generations (45 percent); 83 percent expressed their dissatisfaction with the violent behavior of the youth, and 56 percent demand repressive measures for this reason. In other words, one can see a heterogeneous and not quite peaceful public opinion which changes fast under the impression of contemporary events. The researchers say that this is logical in the actual social situation.

Are the Belgraders at this moment predominantly optimistic, pessimistic or resigned? It is an interesting fact (as a sign of self-confidence) that 52 percent of Belgraders think that the program of stabilization of the Yugoslav economy can be realized without foreign aid. The researcher has concluded that this problem may have been unconsciously connected with the negotiations to get new loans, so that the impression was created that it was possible to normalize social production without additional foreign resources. Researchers note that a very small number of citizens was inclined to overemphasize the significance of foreign aid.

No category of the surveyed persons distinguished itself by being clearly optimistic or pessimistic. The phenomenon of resignation is more noticed (and partly also manifested) by the more educated categories of citizens--students, employees and skilled workers, then activists or active members of sociopolitical organizations, and middle-aged and younger people. City dwellers are somewhat more resigned than people living in the country.

But these are only relations between single categories. The general picture testifies to a certain division of the public opinion between optimism and pessimism: 7 percent state that indifference prevails, 20 percent think that worry and fear prevail, 27 percent estimate that people show as much fear as hope, 20 percent notice the predominance of the faith that difficulties will be overcome soon, and 13 percent think that readiness for action predominates.

Thus one third displays an optimistic modesty, and the general conclusion of the director of research is: the former immoderate optimism has subsided.

This is certainly near the "warning point": "Dissatisfaction, and especially skepticism do not stay long at the level of material and existential worries, they change to restlessness, to an examining expectation and observation," says Sergije Pegan, research director.

"This restlessness most often spontaneously becomes political and ideological, with class or quasiclass characteristics. Passivity and irony, nonfulfillment of work and self-management obligations, withdrawal, privacy and escape to personal calculations (even without any scruples), and other reactions," Pegan continues, "are essentially sterile, yet they spread the atmosphere of inertia and resignation. It is especially important that this atmosphere (of expectation) is receptive to ideological deviations."

Researchers find that public opinion expects this circle of pusillanimity and incredulity to be broken by a true engagement. They find significance in the fact that an enormous majority of citizens (85 percent) stated that in the given situation it is necessary above all to work more; the surveyed persons showed most agreement in this point.

Two thirds of the surveyed think that high officials should have more frequent contacts with citizens, "to hear the voice of the people," "to renew the confidence in the political leaders," "to make the leaders acquainted with the real life," and "to achieve a better mutual information."

In comparison with 1974, when a similar question was asked in the surveys, the prestige of SK has dropped in 1983. Namely the number of those who think that the prestige of SK is great dropped (from 64 to 38 percent), and the number of those who think that this prestige is average has increased (from 32 to 54 percent). The number of those who think that the prestige of SK is small has also increased (from 2 to 14 percent).

What are the unfulfilled expectations? Among the "unsuccessful SK actions" the citizens list in the first three places "the struggle against abuses, corruption and bribes" (25 percent), "reduction of unemployment" (17 percent), "increase of the standard of living" (16 percent).

Researchers have not specifically pointed out this fact, but the data they have collected display the idea that the solution to the difficulties lies somewhere in the area of justice. Besides the fact that the League of Communists is blamed for insufficient energy in fighting abuses, an enormous majority (87 percent--this is a point in which public opinion is compact) say in their answers to the question about punishment policy that punishments for economic crimes are too mild. Only 1 percent think that this policy is too harsh, and 5 percent, which is also a negligible figure, think that this policy is adequate.

It is interesting that solutions are sought in the area of justice in two other vital areas which Belgraders experience as a big problem: for example, 42 percent of the surveyed persons think that the housing problem can be solved by redistribution ("if you have a house--return your apartment"), and only 1 percent think that this is possible only if rent is increased. It is similar with the employment. No less than 48 percent think that the most appropriate measures to solve the unemployment problem is the abolishment of part-time jobs and pensioners' employment. However, it is known that in spite of the visibility of such examples, the number of employed pensioners and those who hold part-time jobs is not larger than one twentieth of the total number of unemployed persons. The reduction of work time which, according to some estimates, could contribute to the creation of a larger number of jobs, is accepted by only 7 percent of the surveyed.

With some reserve it can be said that the citizens of Belgrade try to estimate and examine the condition of the society critically and independently. This can be seen in fact, unpleasant for the writer of this text, that confidence in information media is not high. The analysis made by Ljiljana Bacevic shows that confidence in mass media is not very high. Greatest confidence is given to informations about Belgrade; 52 percent have full confidence in them, while the confidence in the informations about intranational relations in the country is considerably lower (only 28 percent expressed full confidence, which is obviously influenced by the events in Kosovo). There is little trust in informations about economic and political situation (32 percentage points of full confidence and 42 percent of partial confidence).

It seems that this picture is influenced by the sociopolitical crisis, but the citizens' dissatisfaction must be sought elsewhere, too--in the nonresponsiveness of the media toward the demands of the consumers, in the pressure on the press, in the variations of the quality of reporting, and in social condemnation of some publications--the conclusion of the research states.

The condition of intranational relations in Belgrade and Serbia is judged considerably more favorably than the condition in the provinces. Serbia without provinces and Belgrade have 80, viz. 81 percent of positive marks, Voivodina somewhat less (66 positive and 16 negative) which is probably a consequence of the disputes about the constitutional functioning of the SR Serbia, while Kosovo, probably under the influence of the knowledge of counterrevolutionary events, is judged by 76 percent of the surveyed people as an area with poor or very poor intranational relations.

Belgraders list the following causes of the difficulties in intranational relations: "the action of enemies abroad and nationalist in the country" (31 percent), "political and economic closing-in within republican and provincial borders" (25 percent), "wider economic crisis and political difficulties in the country" (19 percent), "heritage from the past" (8), "the separation of the people from the authorities, nationalism of the leaders" (5), "primitivism and backwardness" (5), "religious differences" (3), and "cultural differences" (2 percent). Those who see the causes of nationalism ultimately in statism dominate.

The analysis made by Dr Borislav Djuverovic shows that cultural topics that have lately been the subject of controversial discussions, have left the Belgraders indifferent. Only 14 percent of the surveyed, for example, have given their opinion on the play "Golubnjaca." "Stvarno i moguce" has also been judged by only 14 percent, Draskovic's "Noz" by 16.5 percent. The number of actual spectators and readers, as the experience teaches, is at least 10 to 15 percent smaller than the number of those who express their judgment. Milic's from Bacva reactions to the performance of "Seroba Srbalja" was qualified only by about 18 percent of the surveyed, and the glorification of Ljubomir Micic in relation to the Zenithism exhibit was noticed by 8.7 of the surveyed.

As it can be seen, the Belgrade public opinion is interested in the earthly, everyday business, which it judges critically and as a whole, realistically.

Optimism has diminished, although the citizens' reserves of optimism and readiness to engage in changes have not been completely exhausted. another essential conclusion of the researchers is that the coordination between objective developments and the citizens' reactions is now greater than it could be noticed on some earlier occasions.

[Insert] Controversial Books

About 52 percent of those 140 surveyed persons who declared that they have seen "Golubnjaca" think that it does not contain any nationalist trends, 35 percent that it is partly nationalistic, and 13 percent that it is fully nationalistic. It can be seen that the books "Stvarno i moguce", "Noz" and "Politika kao sudbina" have not stimulated great interest of the people of Belgrade. The majority has not read them, and a certain number of the surveyed judged them on the basis of second-hand information. Out of the 133 surveyed persons who declared that they had read "Stvarno i

moguce," 63 percent find elements of nationalism in the book, while one third denies such a trait. Fifty-four percent of the 165 people who said that they had read the book "Noz" finds it nationalistic, and 45 percent do not. About 75 percent of those who commented on Milic's from Macva lamentations over the Serbdom identify his stand with a stirring-up of nationalist passions.

[Insert] Expectations

Will the standard of living, generally and for your family improve, worsen or remain the same next year (1984)?

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------|
| 1. It will improve | 12 percent |
| 2. It will worsen | 45 percent |
| 3. It will remain the same | 27 percent |
| 4. I do not know | 15 percent |

What do you think your material position will be in 5 years?

- | | |
|--------------------|------------|
| 1. Better than now | 28 percent |
| 2. Worse than now | 21 percent |
| 3. The same | 14 percent |
| 4. I cannot answer | 38 percent |

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BRIEFS

MISSILE DEPLOYMENT--Krusevac, 20 Nov (TANJUG)--"We are confident that the anti-missile and anti-nuclear movement in European countries where missiles are installed will not remain without echoes or without influence towards the halting of a perilous development of events caused by the siting of new missiles," member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Petar Stambolic today, Sunday, told a popular rally in Krusevac. Having noted that a senseless arms race is taking place in the world, Stambolic warned that old war hotbeds are being enlarged and new war hotbeds created, while the confrontation of large military forces in the Middle East is of such a nature that a spark may cause an international conflagration of unforeseeable consequences. In conclusion Stambolic said that "as an idea and as practice, the policy of nonalignment was offering the world a prospect of peace and progress. "This is the policy that enjoys support by the millions of people in the world, and it has to be triumphant, for its alternative is self-destruction," said Petar Stambolic, in emphasizing the efforts being invested by Yugoslavia in the preservation of peace and in the prevention of a world disaster. [Text] [LD210054 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650 GMT 20 Nov 83]

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